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## FEBRUARY MEETING, 1880.

The regular monthly meeting was held at the Society's rooms, in Boston, on Thursday, the 12th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, — detained at home by an accident, — the Treasurer was appointed Secretary *pro tempore*, and read the record of the previous meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian read the monthly list of donors to the Library. He stated also, for the Cabinet-keeper, who was not present at the meeting, that a picture which had been in the Society's gallery for some years, with no inscription upon it as to subject, painter, or owner, had been identified recently, and was now presented by Mr. William Perkins, of Boston. It was a portrait of the Rev. William Cooper, and had been the property of the late Captain William E. Perkins, a descendant of Mr. Cooper, and the son of the donor. It had been deposited with the consent of Captain Perkins, and his father wished that it might be preserved in the Society's cabinet.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. William Perkins for this acceptable gift.

The Librarian announced also the gift of several small clay masks, of Aztec origin, from M. José M$^{a}$ Velasco, Professor in the Academy of Fine Arts of Mexico.

The President laid upon the table, as donations to the Library and Cabinet, a manuscript copy of the census of Chelsea in 1800, containing also an aggregate of the census of Suffolk County for the same year, — the gift of Mr. John A. Fenno, of Boston, — and a copy of the privately printed Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn, from whose letters Mr. Winthrop had communicated, at the December meeting, some interesting particulars of the occupation of Boston by the British troops in 1775. This volume had been sent by the editor, Mr. G. D. Scull, of Rugby, England.

The President then announced the death since the last meeting of an Associate Member, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, as follows: —

You would hardly excuse me, Gentlemen, were I to proceed further in the ordinary routine of business this after-

noon without some brief allusion to the vacancy on our resident roll which has occurred since our last meeting. If, in the good providence of God, our late excellent friend and fellow-worker, Richard Frothingham, had died when he was seemingly at the very brink of the grave just a year ago, we should have all deeply deplored his loss. But his serious infirmities during the year which has intervened, and his consequent inability to take any further active part in our proceedings, have prepared us for the final announcement. He died, as you know, on the evening of the 29th ultimo, and our Society was represented at his funeral by Mr. Adams and myself, as pall-bearers, as well as by others of our number, on Monday, the 2d instant.

The eulogy delivered on that occasion by the pastor of the Universalist church to which he belonged, and the numerous tributes which appeared at the time in the public journals, have left little or nothing to be added by others; yet we owe to his memory here to-day, as a Society, some expression of our high appreciation of his long and faithful service, as our Treasurer, for thirty years, and of his devoted and distinguished labors in that great cause of History in which we are associated. He took peculiar pleasure and pride in his relations to this Society. His latest interest was in our monthly meetings, and he made an effort to be with us — and was with us, as you all remember — even within a few weeks of his death, and when it was too visible to every one but himself that the end could not be far off. It would have been a grief to him to imagine that he would not be the subject of an affectionate mention here after he had passed away.

As a Massachusetts Historical Society we must ever hold in special esteem those who make the most valuable contributions to the history of our own Commonwealth; and certainly no one of our number has done more than he has done to illustrate that particular period of Massachusetts history in which the greatest interest and the greatest pride are taken by us all.

He seemed never weary of pursuing his investigations in regard to the earliest incidents of our Revolutionary struggle, — the Boston Massacre, the destruction of the Tea, the fights at Lexington and Concord, the battle of Bunker Hill, and the Siege of Boston. The volume embracing all these topics — which he first published in 1849, and which has since passed through many successive editions — can never fail to be regarded as a work of great value. It supplies the most carefully collected details, from the most authentic sources, of

scenes whose interest and importance can hardly be exaggerated. He was emphatically, and in every sense, the Historian of Bunker Hill. He had its whole story by heart. From the first gathering of the little band at Cambridge, on the evening of the 16th, to the final retreat from the redoubt, on the afternoon of the 17th of June, 1775, he had studied every inch of the ground, every step of the troops, every incident and every accident of the battle. All the movements of Prescott, the heroic commander in the action, and of Stark and Knowlton and Pomeroy and Putnam, who co-operated at the breastworks and rail-fences, had been diligently traced by him, as well as the precise spot on which the great volunteer martyr, Warren, having refused Prescott's offer of the command, fell, sword in hand, at the close of the struggle.

An admirable Life of Warren, published by him in 1865, was the natural sequel of this volume, and exhibited the same careful and conscientious research. Meantime both of these works were but the preparation and prelude for his "Rise of the Republic of the United States," of which the first edition was published in 1872, and which he justly regarded as the crowning labor of his life. It is not, perhaps, a volume to attract the general reader; but the student of political history will always resort to it in tracing the gradual development of the idea of national union on the American continent, and will find in it a collation of the utterances and efforts in this direction, not only of our own James Otis and Joseph Warren, and Samuel Adams and John Adams, but of the great advocates of liberty and union in all parts of the country, from its earliest colonial existence.

It is not too much to add that the three volumes, to which I have thus briefly referred, will ever be regarded as standard authorities on the subjects with which they deal, and must always associate the name of our lamented friend with some of the most important events in Massachusetts and American history. Our second Vice-President, Dr. Ellis, who is himself an authority on these subjects, has justly said that we find in them "plain, strong, direct statements of authentic facts, and most instructive elucidations and comments."

I have said nothing of his early History of Charlestown; nothing of his labors as a journalist; nothing of his services in public life, as Mayor of Charlestown and as a member of the Legislature of the Commonwealth; nothing of his relations to political parties, in which he steadfastly followed his own convictions as a Democrat, even when they doomed him to act with unpopular and hopeless minorities. All this may

safely be left for some formal memoir at a later day. Nor need I dwell on his private character and virtues. They were familiar to us all. Honest as the day, amiable and modest, public-spirited and patriotic, his memory will be cherished by all who knew him, as we did, with unfeigned respect and affection.

Mr. WINTHROP concluded his tribute to Mr. Frothingham by presenting from the Council the following Resolutions: —

*Resolved*, By the Massachusetts Historical Society, that in the death of the Hon. Richard Frothingham we have lost one of our most valued associates and friends, who had served us faithfully, as our Treasurer, for thirty years, and whose contributions to Massachusetts and American history have made him an authority on some of the most interesting and important events in our Revolutionary struggle.

*Resolved*, That the President appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of our lamented Associate for some future volume of our Proceedings.

In moving the adoption of these Resolutions Mr. DEANE spoke as follows: —

It is not often, Mr. President, that I rise in my place here to join in the tributes to departed members, but I cannot allow this occasion to pass without claiming the privilege of saying a few words of one who for so many years sat with us at this board, as one of the Knights of our Round Table, his face always beaming with benevolence, dispensing, as occasion served, historical information about Warren, or Bunker Hill, or on kindred themes, as freely as he dispensed to us his Treasurer's bills as the years came round.

Of my own personal loss in the death of Mr. Frothingham I will not speak. Of the Society's loss it is becoming that I should speak. For more than thirty years he has been identified with its history as one of its most devoted and useful members. Of his services as Treasurer during nearly all these years, I will leave his successor to speak. But in other ways, by tongue and pen, he has always been ready to do his part to promote the best interests of the Society. The volumes of Collections and Proceedings bear witness to his labors and his ready co-operation in every thing that concerns its well-being. The fourth volume of the fourth series of the Collections was edited by him, and contains the interesting correspondence relating to the supplies sent to Boston during

the suffering of the inhabitants in that unhappy period of the Boston Port Bill. He was also one of a committee on a centennial volume, printed by the Society, of which Mr. Adams, our Vice-President, was chairman. The Proceedings also contain a number of elaborate papers, contributed at meetings held on anniversary occasions at his own house and elsewhere, when he was so ready to respond to the calls for information in his special department. Other associates here may have had more general learning and a broader scholarship, and the Society has been a sharer in their renown. But we must all admit that, as regards those subjects which the Society was established principally to promote, Mr. Frothingham was a most successful worker. His own writings, disconnected from the volumes of the Society, are numerous, and on these his reputation will principally rest.

I will briefly refer to some of these writings: —

In 1845 he began a history of Charlestown, and brought it down to the time of the siege of Boston. The subject grew so extensively on his hands that instead of part of his history he made it a monograph, which he entitled the "Siege of Boston," — a monograph, so complete, so thorough in every thing relating to the theme and its kindred incidents, that it threw almost all else written on this subject into the shade, as an exhaustive history of the Lexington and Concord affair, the battle of Bunker Hill, and the siege of Boston. Lord Mahon, in a note on the question of "The Command at Bunker Hill," speaks of this book, — which he had received through Mr. Ticknor, too late to be used by him in his own work, — as showing great "industry and merit." You know, Sir, whenever any new documents, or any old documents newly come to light, relating to these subjects, came before the Society, or any questions arose respecting them, we always looked to Mr. Frothingham to interpret them, as an expert from whose judgment there could be no appeal. He himself lived under the shadow of Bunker Hill and its monument, and was the interpreter of the battle which the latter was intended to commemorate to all who visited his hospitable residence in Monument Square.

Persons not familiar with investigations of this nature are not aware of the amount of labor involved in writing a book like the "Siege of Boston." The mass of documents to be collected, read, and digested, — such as orderly-books, letters, depositions, newspapers, old, half-defaced records, — from these to sift out the evidence, arrange it, and bring order out of chaos, and from all these materials to write a book which will

be pleasant to read, — all this is no ordinary labor. The incidents connected with the battle of Bunker Hill bade fair, at one time, to take their place among the myths of history. The principal actors had died and made no sign, thinking that the least said about the affair the better for the reputation of all. Hence the difficulty which surrounded the historian.

When Mr. Frothingham's book came out, a venerable gentleman, a veteran historian of the battle of Bunker Hill, who felt perhaps that his own field of investigation had been encroached upon, that Mr. Frothingham had been poaching on his manor, made a rather ungracious attack upon the "Siege of Boston," ostensibly under the plea of discussing, "Who was the Commander at Bunker Hill."

Mr. Frothingham disliked historical controversy, or controversy of any kind. He was a man of peace, yet he could not well avoid replying to an attack like this. He did reply, in a voluminous pamphlet, and I think any impartial reader will say that for ample learning on the subject discussed, for felicity in arranging his materials and ability in presenting them, and, better than all, for the admirable temper preserved by him throughout the discussion, the reply to Colonel Swett is a model paper.

As to Mr. Frothingham's "Life of Joseph Warren," I think everybody will say it was the most natural thing in the world for him to write it. Mr. Frothingham regarded Warren as the embodiment of the spirit of the Revolution. His imagination seems to have been early impressed by the almost romantic career of that youthful patriot, who died in the affair of the 17th of June, just as he had reached the age of thirty-four years. Warren was the central figure always present to his mind, as the granite shaft, erected on the spot where his hero fell, was always present to his sight. The Life of Warren, which appeared in 1865, is thoroughly imbued with this spirit. If I should criticise the book, I should say that it lacked the quiet dignity and repose which should characterize the historical narrative, but I should forget in doing so that it was Mr. Frothingham writing the life of Warren. The fervor is glowing and elevated, yet well sustained throughout. It has all the *ardentia verba* of a Fourth of July oration delivered in the Old South Church. But it is also an authentic history of the time in which his hero lived, acted, and died.

Mr. Frothingham was a voluminous writer. I have spoken only of his principal works. His last book of any extent, that which probably cost him the most labor, and which was

regarded by him as his crowning work, was his "Rise of the Republic," which appeared in 1872. The writer here aims to give the history of the development of local self-government throughout the colonies. As these grew in strength and prosperity, another idea was gradually developed, — the idea of national union. He traces the germ of this sentiment at an early stage in our history, showing in what way it was manifested at different periods of that history. He calls this the "sentiment of nationality," a phrase he is fond of using. Recognizing the universal fact that union is sought for strength, that weak communities and states having a common interest naturally combine against a common enemy, Mr. Frothingham thought that he saw in those various communities scattered over a vast extent of territory a desire to unite and become a great nation for other and higher reasons, — that all felt they had a common country and a common destiny, and were linked together by common interests, — that this was shown by the "plan of union" recommended at Albany in 1754, and at other periods. In short, he then follows the thread of history down to the Union and solemn pledges of 4th July, 1776, and the final consummation of 1788.

This book is a great storehouse of facts, brought together by great labor, often from most obscure sources. If any one, old or young, desires to see all the proceedings of towns and States which preceded and authorized the important movements of the Declaration of Independence and the formation of the government of the United States, this book will furnish the desired information.

In what I have said here, Mr. President, I feel that I have not done justice to Mr. Frothingham's merits, but I must now conclude.

Mr. C. C. SMITH, the Treasurer, said: —

It would be scarcely possible to add any thing to the just and beautiful tributes which have already been paid to the memory of our lamented Associate. We all recognized the importance of his contributions to historical literature, we were all drawn to him by his frank and cordial manners, we all saw in him a man of stainless integrity and settled principles, — a man who was always unobtrusive in the expression of his opinions, and charitable in his judgment of other men, but who was always ready and able to give a reason for the views which he had adopted; and nothing needs to be added

on these points. But Mr. Frothingham stood to this Society in a peculiar relation, and sitting at this table, in the place which he filled for so many years, neither my personal regard for a valued friend, nor a proper recognition of the important service which he rendered to the Society, can permit me to remain silent to-day.

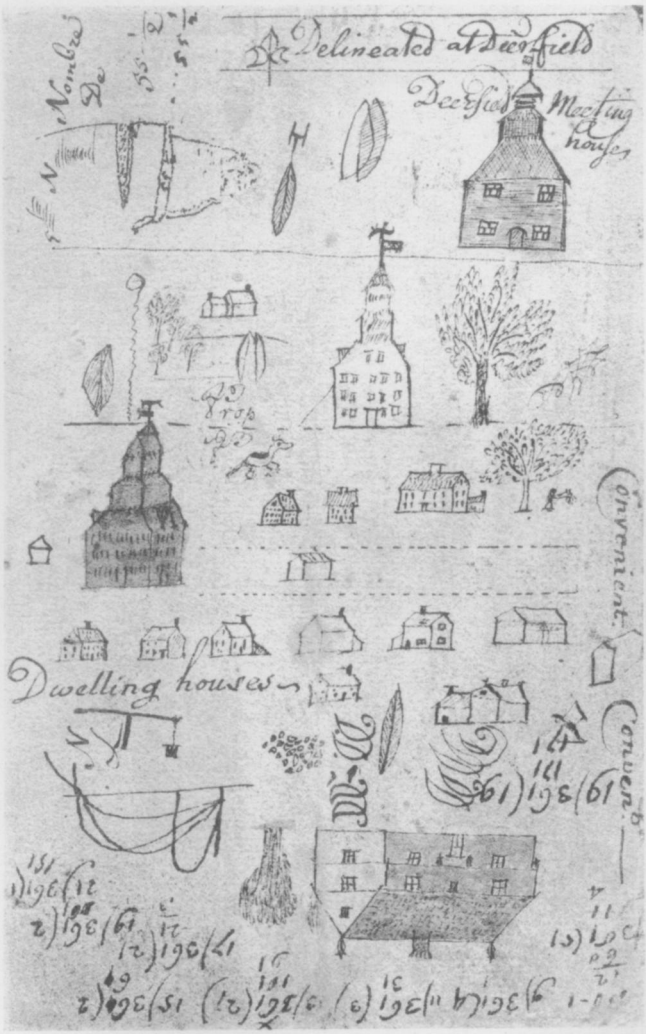
Mr. Frothingham was chosen a member in July, 1846, and at the next annual meeting he was unanimously elected Treasurer, to succeed Mr. Chandler, who had declined a renomination. This office he filled for exactly thirty years, and in the discharge of its duties he exhibited the conscientious fidelity and accuracy which were among his distinguishing characteristics as an historian. It was still the day of small things when he became Treasurer, but during his long management of our financial affairs he had the satisfaction of witnessing a steady improvement in the condition of the Society. When he withdrew from office, a little less than three years ago, we had an income largely increased beyond any thing we had previously enjoyed, though even now altogether inadequate to the proper performance of the work for which the Society was formed. For this increase we are indebted, in no small part, to his judicious investments of our permanent funds, and to his faithful service as a member of the committee for reconstructing this building, and leasing the portion which our necessities compelled the Society to appropriate to uses other than those to which we should have gladly confined it. On more than one occasion Mr. Frothingham showed great alacrity and energy in urging the appeals to the generosity of members which it has been occasionally necessary to make in behalf of the Society. In discharging the ordinary duties of Treasurer, he was prompt, accurate, and unremitting in his devotion to our interests. But I need not dwell on details such as these. Those of us who have been long associated with Mr. Frothingham in this Society know how zealously he labored for its welfare, how regular he was in his attendance at our meetings, and how important were the contributions he made to our published Collections and Proceedings. Here his memory will be always warmly cherished.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS, Jr., said: —

I am unwilling to let this occasion pass without adding a single word of personal tribute to what has already been said of Mr. Frothingham. I do not propose to refer to his

work as an historian, or to his eminent services to this Society as one of its most devoted as well as distinguished members. The little I have to say relates to other and singularly amiable and attractive traits of Mr. Frothingham's character, kindly allusion to which even by me would now, I think, be very grateful to him, could he be conscious of it. I refer to his undeviating — and undeviating because innate and genuine — kindness to historical investigators younger and less experienced than himself. It was in this connection that my own acquaintance with Mr. Frothingham — far slighter at best than I now wish it had been — was formed. A line of local inquiry had brought me into his peculiar territory, — the early history of Charlestown. I was eagerly endeavoring to establish a theory of settlement, which I fondly believed original with myself, and went to him concerning it. I well remember the assistance he then rendered me, and, more than the assistance, the way in which he rendered it. I, not he, seemed to be the instructor and the guide, and it was with an air of consideration, which in its kindness was almost deferential, that he brought to my notice recondite passages in his own earlier writings, as well as in those of others, showing that my novel theories had long since been surmised, and that it only remained for me to substantiate them, if I could, by a closer analysis of the authorities. After all, I was but treading in his footprints; and yet he demonstrated this somewhat mortifying fact to me in a way which left upon me a sort of impression at the time that I had taught him a great deal that he did not know before; indeed, I believe he really thought so himself; for even my slight acquaintance with Mr. Frothingham revealed to me a genuine modesty, mixed with the sterling worth of his character, which I think must have disposed him to underestimate his own acquirements, while continually overestimating those of others. It was either this, or he was a most consummate master of the art of pleasing.

For myself, I reject the latter alternative. I feel sure that the outward traits of manner to which I have referred were merely the manifestations of the charming modesty of Mr. Frothingham's character and the innate kindness of his heart. He was throughout a true man, and he so impressed you from the first. I do not think I ever knew him by sight until I became a member of this Society. Since then it has been my fortune rarely to meet him; and yet, slight and almost passing as this acquaintance was, I want to put on record as best I may the sense of personal loss his death has occasioned me.


Delineated at Deerfield
Deerfield Meeting house
Convenient
Dwelling houses

I was much younger than he, and not to be numbered among those he really knew or thought of as his friends; yet to me the man had a fascination of genuineness which it was not easy to account for. I suppose he exercised it over others who are here, as he did over me. I can only add, what I do not often feel moved to say, that the world seems to be poorer to me because of his death. There is a distinct sense of something gone, of a presence wanting. There is just so much less sunshine in these rooms for the future.*

The Resolutions were then unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Dr. GREEN communicated for publication in the Proceedings of the Society a copy of the manuscript diary of Dr. Dudley Woodbridge, saying: —

The following diary was kept by Dudley Woodbridge, who graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1724. In early life he preached for two years at Groton, Connecticut, though he was never ordained; subsequently he practised medicine at Stonington, where he died in the autumn of 1790, at an advanced age.

The letters (*a*) and (*b*), enclosed within parentheses in the beginning of the text, refer to rough drawings of the meeting-houses at Watertown and Natick, given at the bottom of the page; but the drawings answering to (*c*) (*d*) &c., and to similar letters or numerals on succeeding pages are not filled up. On the last page of the diary, which is here reproduced, are other drawings.

Oct. 1, 1728. A clear, cool, pleasant day. I went, in company with S$^{r}$ Hinsdell, from Cambridge about half-past 11 o'clock. Bent our course about west south-west through a good, even road; left classmate Sam$^{l}$ Coolidge's on the right hand, and came to Mr. Storer's meeting-house (*a*), in Watertown, being then three miles onward of our journey; from thence travelling about three miles in good way, leaving Converse's on the left, we came to Mr. Warham Williams's, at Watertown, west end; came there about thirty minutes past 12 o'clock. We dined there, and came away about 45 minutes past 2 o'clock; went about south-west half a mile, and crossed Charles River. From thence through a blind way about south-west, we went over through Newtown and Needham, crossing said river over a bridge, and, having

* These remarks were not made at the meeting, as Mr. Adams hesitated to ask for the floor, fearing to detain the Society too long from its ordinary business. He has kindly consented to allow them to make part of the printed record, at the request of the Committee. — EDS.

travelled about ten miles, came to Mr. Peabody's, at Natic; called, but he was not at home; came by his meeting-house (*b*), and by the Indian wigwams (*c*); we pass by their burying-place, leaving it on the right hand, where I observed one of their customs, — to leave the bier (*d*) whereon they carry a dead corpse upon his grave to rot there, it being customary with them to make a new bier for every corpse. From Natic we went to Sherburn; saw a flock of heath hens near the road; came to Mr. Eleazar Rider's a little after sunset; from thence to Mr. Coolidge's; saw his young wife; from thence we went to Mr. W^m^ Rider's, where we lodged, and were kindly entertained.

October 2. From thence, at 30 minutes after 10, we came away on fresh horses; rode about five miles, in good, even road, to Framingham meeting-house (*e*). Leaving it on the right hand, and, travelling about five miles in way not quite so good, we came to Southborough meeting-house (*f*), standing on the right hand; and, riding about one mile farther, we came to Mr. W^m^ Johnson's, about 1 o'clock; stopped and refreshed ourselves. About 2 o'clock we came from thence, riding about five miles, to Westborough meeting-house (*a*); leaving it on the right hand, from thence, about five miles, we came to Shrewsbury meeting-house (*b*). standing on the right hand on a shrubby, uninhabited plain; from thence, about one mile, came to How's; tarried about a quarter of an hour, and refreshed ourselves and horses. From thence about [*blank*] miles brought us to Worcester Pond, — the largest that ever I have seen; leaving it on the left, we came in [*blank*] miles to the meeting-house (*c*), standing on the left; thence we came to Half-way River, and three miles and a half more brought us to Richardson's, at Liecester, about a half an hour after 7 o'clock in the evening; gave them the charge of our horses, and, having supped, we went to bed early, but slept very little. We arose about half an hour after 4 in the morning and walking out abroad, were surprised with a very bright aurora borealis, the light from north-east to north-west streaming up in white streaks almost to the zenith, variable, tinctured with a glowing red, the light so great that our shadows were plainly visible on the earth. It continued till the light of the morning came on.

October 3. We paid our reckoning and set out about 5 o'clock; we left Mr. Parsons's and the meeting-house (*d*), on the right hand on a hill; and about eight miles from Richardson's brought us to Seven-mile River; two miles more brought us to Five-mile River. There is one inhabitant between these rivers, Townsend, a tavern-keeper. Five miles from the last-mentioned river brought us to Brookfield meeting-house (*e*), standing on the right. We came to Mr. Cheney's about 9 o'clock; ate our breakfast there; took our leave, and walked over the way to Mr. Dwight's; thence we set out, about 10 o'clock; about two miles brought us to a large pond containing a great quantity of iron ore. We crossed the neck of the pond, and left the pond on the right; about one mile farther brought us to Cap^t^ Gosse's, where, having refreshed our horses, and being kindly entertained ourselves, we set out, and came, about a quarter of a mile, over

Coys Hill, which we were one hour in passing over, being about three miles. At no great distance from the foot of the hill, about a quarter of a mile, we crossed Ware River, and so from thence over five young Coys, being altogether uninhabited. These five mountains take up the space of seven miles, which brought us to Swift River, which we crossed, and came in a mile and a half to Cold Spring, about 45 minutes past 12 o'clock. We tarried there a quarter of an hour; then we rode about six miles to the Nine-mile ponds; from thence we travelled through very good road, which was by this time grown a great rarity. We left a great many wonderful peaks (1) and ridges of mountains on the left; and nine miles brought us into Hadly town, about 4 o'clock, where we were kindly entertained and refreshed at Mr. Marshes. 'Tis a very pleasant, delightful town, seated on a very even plain. The main street is one mile in length, twenty rods wide; the buildings very regular on each side the street; the meeting-house (2) standing in the middle of the street, which runs north and south. About half a mile from the meeting-house we came to Hadly ferry, and crossed the famous Connecticut River, and came into Hatfield, — which is also a pleasant town; about a mile and a half brought us to the meeting-house (3); about half a mile brought us to the meadows, where the lots lay along evenly ranged in beautiful and surprising order, on each side the path for six miles in length, which brought us to Sugarloaf Hill (4), a remarkable peak, in Deerfield. We left it on the right, and about four miles brought us to Deerfield meadows, and two miles and a half brought us to Mr. M. Hinsdell's about 7.45 o'clock in the evening. About five miles before we came thither, I saw near the road the ruins of a monument built of brick and stone, in memory of a remarkable fight, called Muddy Brook Fight, being about fifty-two years ago last August, wherein about seventy English were killed. It was thought that in the fight were more than one thousand Indians.

October 4. Visited Mr. Williams, after the conference.

October 5. A rainy day.

October 6. Sacrament Day. A.M., Mr. Williams; P.M., Mr. Dickinson. Eccl. xii. 1. The women sat on the right hand of the minister.

October 7. Dined with Mr. Williams, and spent the afternoon with him.

October 8. Walked up on the great mountain that lies on the east of the town; saw a flock of wild turkeys.

October 9. Rode with Mr. Williams, &c., to Sunderland lecture. I went up on Sugarloaf by the way, which I was twelve minutes in climbing. A gentleman rolled a stone of considerable weight down the south end of the mountain, which run very swiftly, and put a deer to his heels that lay undiscovered before.* After we had satisfied

* A pen has been drawn through the following words, with different ink from that used in the journal: "If the rock that rolled down in some of its prodigious jumps had come upon his back, brandy would not have saved him; but he steered clear of that, and we had no gun at hand, so he made the best of his way to some other shelter." — Eds.

ourselves with a delicious prospect of the towns lying on the plains on both sides the river, with their fields and meadows, we came down, and crossed Sunderland ferry; came to Mr. Rand's about 12 o'clock; went to meeting about 1 o'clock. Mr. Rand preached from Ezek. xxxvi. 26. Dined there after lecture, and returned to Deirfield that evening.

October 10. Mr. Hinsdell and I set out for Sunderland. We came to the ferry: the wind was boisterous, and no ferryman; however, we took boat, and with much difficulty got over, tossing out my horse over head and ears near Sunderland shore. We went up to Mr. Rand's, and dined there; immediately after dinner we went out, about north-east three miles from the town, near the north end of Mount Toby, to a wonderful cave, which we searched with lines and candles, and I esteem it to be as great a curiosity as any thing I have seen of that nature.

Professor FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut, a Corresponding Member, was introduced, and read the following paper on the "Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England": —

New England civilization received its first efficient impulse from the arrival of the Massachusetts Company, bearing their charter, in June, 1630; and in any attempt to trace a connection between liberal education on the other side of the water and the progress of New England, this date must mark the real beginning.

For, though half a dozen university men (Brewster, Blaxton, Higginson, Skelton, R. Smith, and Bright) had reached New England before 1630, not one of them continued within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony long enough to bear a hand in, or even to witness, the beginning there of the new era, in connection with the establishment of the public school, the printing-press, and the college, during the fruitful period from 1636 to 1647. But before this period had expired, the number of university men who had immigrated to New England had mounted up to at least ninety; there may perhaps have been half a dozen more, at present not identified; — enough, it is probable, with the few who came in the next generation, to make a total of a hundred names.

Of this body almost three-fourths were from the University of Cambridge, — known as a special stronghold of Puritanism from the middle of the sixteenth century onward. At Cambridge had been educated the Protestant sectaries who had led the revolt against the notion of a national church, — Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, John Penry, Francis Johnson, Richard Clifton, John Robinson; *all* in fact of the more noted Separatists who had a university training, except Henry Jacob. And when we recall that the same *Alma Mater* nurtured such other strong men of the Puritan party as Burton, Cartwright, Whitaker, and Ames, Sibbes, Preston, Davenant, Lightfoot,

John and Thomas Goodwin, Cromwell, Fairfax, and Milton, we get some idea of the historical environment which helped to mould the educated leaders of New England.

In the archives of the university the matriculation registers, which received at the opening of each month the record of those who had entered at any of the separate colleges during the month preceding, are still extant (with the exception of an unfortunate gap from June, 1589, to June, 1602), and of ready access, in the Registrary's office, in the Pitt Press Building, with the accompanying list of degrees granted at the ending of the academic course. The matriculation book contains merely the names of the students, roughly classified by rank, and the colleges which they have entered; the admission books of the particular colleges occasionally supplying additional items of information, such as age and parents' names, with varying degrees of fulness.

The statute interval between matriculation and graduation was four years of three terms each, though, by a lax construction, it was common to reduce this period by one term, or even by more; and, judging from the known ages in the case of the New England immigrants, the average seventeenth-century age, at admission, was not far from seventeen, and that at graduation about twenty.

On these official lists the first name belonging to our history is that of William Brewster, who was matriculated on the 3d of December, 1580, at the oldest of the college foundations, St. Peter's or Peterhouse. We had already the statement in Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" that Elder Brewster "spent some small time at Cambridge," and, as was rightly inferred, without graduating; but hitherto the first known date in his life has been the reference (also in Bradford) to his presence with Secretary Davison, when the cautionary towns in the Low Countries were given up to England in 1585.

After Elder Brewster, no New England name appears until that of John Phillips, of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1596, and was a temporary resident in Massachusetts from 1638 to 1641. By the time of his graduation, at least three others of our future immigrants (Robert Peck, Ralph Partridge, and Nathaniel Ward) were domiciled in Cambridge; and for the next forty years there was never a smaller number — sometimes upward of twenty — in residence together. The roll, fullest about 1620, closes with Nathaniel Norcross, also of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1637, and was in Salem a year or two later.

About seventy New Englanders are thus traced to Cambridge University; and more than twenty of them were connected with Emanuel College, notorious almost from its foundation, in 1584, as a Puritan seed-plot. Though outstripped in numbers by Trinity and St. John's (which were then, as now, the largest of the colleges in the university), Emanuel stood easily in the next rank, as to size, and equal to any in scholarship; nor were the least brilliant names in its teaching body during this period those of John Cotton and Thomas Hooker.

Next, but far below this, in popularity with the New England fathers, were Trinity, where eight or nine of them are enrolled (including in this number the illustrious name of John Winthrop, the elder, who was a student here from December, 1602, till some time in 1604),* and Magdalen and St. John's, each with seven. Sidney Sussex, sometimes classed with Emanuel as a special nursery of Puritans, chiefly because it was Oliver Cromwell's college, has but three of our names on its lists, of whom only the Massachusetts agitator, John Wheelwright, was a contemporary of the Protector. The other greatest name of Cambridge in the Puritan period is that of John Milton, resident in Christ's College from 1625 to 1632. None of the transatlantic heroes seem to have been inmates of Christ's at the same time with her greatest son; but undergraduate fellowship easily overleaps college boundaries; and it is pleasant to recall that Thomas Shepard and John Norton, Roger Williams and Abraham Pierson, John Harvard and Henry Dunster, were a part of the busy throng that paced the same streets and drank of the same influences, side by side with John Milton and Jeremy Taylor. In like manner, it may help to fill out our conception of the gentle Elder Brewster to remember that he was an undergraduate at Peterhouse with John Penry, the Puritan martyr. So Peter Bulkley, the pastor of Concord, may, as Fellow of St. John's, have shared in the training of the great Earl of Strafford; and the pure fame of President Chauncey may gain an added light as we picture him in daily intercourse, year in and year out, with the saintly George Herbert, while both of them were Fellows of Trinity.

Passing now to Oxford, the question is a natural one, why we find but about one-third as many New England names as at Cambridge. The argument from locality will not explain so great a difference, though doubtless the eastern counties furnished the larger number of the Cambridge men on our list, as they furnished, in general, a greater proportion of the total emigration than any other section. As to this last, the best available data make the metropolis naturally the largest feeder to New England, and Kent, in the extreme south-east, probably the next largest; after which, with a distribution of numbers fairly proportioned to their several areas, come closely the group of strictly eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; but Wiltshire, Devonshire, Somerset, Hants, Dorset, and Surrey, in the south, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, in the southern midland, and Lancashire, in the north-west, fall not far below the previous group in the quota contributed to the peopling of New England.

If we look further for reasons why Oxford drew to itself so much less of the element we are seeking than did Cambridge, I venture to suggest that one fact should be remembered, that by far the most conspicuous figure in the former university from 1604 to 1621 was William Laud, Fellow and afterward President of St. John's College, and that the influences typified by his name made Oxford an unattractive

* See "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," vol. i. pp. 54–59.

place to men whose natural development led them in later years to these Colonies.

It may well be significant that not a single student from St. John's shared in the settling of New England; significant also, perhaps, that in the scant roll of twenty-four Oxford men who came over, must be counted no less than five (Norris, Davenport, Parker, Mather, Vane), who left the university before completing the formalities of matriculation and subscription, — of whom were the two most notable of all the number, John Davenport and Richard Mather, though Davenport afterward returned for a degree upon examination. There was something incompatible between the spirit which fostered Laud and the spirit which founded New England.

For access to a carefully verified and alphabetically arranged index to the original matriculation and subscription registers at Oxford, I was indebted a few months ago, while in London, to the generous kindness of Colonel Joseph L. Chester, LL.D. The entries are more full than the corresponding records at Cambridge, containing as they do the age of the matriculant, and, to a great extent, the residence and rank in life of the father. A conveniently arranged copy of the roll of degrees conferred by Oxford before the beginning of the printed catalogue (1659), can be consulted in the Bodleian Library, among the voluminous manuscript collections of Anthony Wood.

The New England names begin with the matriculation at Exeter College, in 1595, of John Maverick, the son of a Devonshire clergyman, and himself one of the pastors of the congregation which paused for a while at our Dorchester, on its way to Windsor in Connecticut; and the list is closed, in 1652, with the graduation of James Allen, whose service as a minister of the First Church in Boston lasted into the 18th century. Over this stretch of nearly sixty years the few who came to New England were scattered by twos and threes, and for brief periods, at no time being more than five at once, and with no representatives, as there were at Cambridge, among the body of instructors (except at the very end), to create a community of sentiment and a central bond.

I should add that of course these original sources at both universities have been before examined by other inquirers, — as, for instance, by Mr. Savage, — and that it cannot be expected that many discoveries remain; but the following New England names have not, I believe, before been identified with either university. Thus, I find of Massachusetts pastors, educated wholly or in part at Oxford: Joseph Avery, Stephen Bachiler, Richard Blinman, Henry Green, Joseph Hull, John Maverick, and Edward Norris, — with John Warham and Nicholas Street of Connecticut. So the Cambridge list is increased by the names of three Plymouth ministers, Christopher Blackwood, William Leverich, and Ralph Partridge; and of four in Massachusetts, Edmund Brown, George Burdett, Robert Fordham, and Thomas Waterhouse; as also by George Fenwick, the founder of Saybrook, who was matriculated at Queen's in 1619, and Ephraim Huet, Mr. Warham's colleague at Windsor. On the other hand, it may be as-

serted with some confidence, that a few who have been credited by tradition with university training were really never matriculated; in which list must be placed John Lothrop of Scituate, Charles Morton of Charlestown, James Noyes and John Woodbridge of Newbury, Herbert Pelham of Cambridge, and Thomas Peters of Saybrook.

In addition to the Oxford and Cambridge men included in these summaries, there were here and there among the first comers a few who had studied at other universities, the most notable, perhaps, being the younger Winthrop, from Dublin, and Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of Harvard College, from Franeker, in Holland.

We commonly reckon the aggregate of the New England immigration down to 1643 at somewhat over 20,000 persons, or 4,000 families, of whom thus only one person in every group of forty families proves to have been of university antecedents. The result implied by such a statement in figures may not seem greatly significant, but, in fact, the character of the element thus singled out chiefly determined the character of the civilization established.

Turning to trace this emigration more in detail, we begin with the Mayflower company.

Elder Brewster, with his year or two of uncompleted study at Cambridge, was, so far as appears, the only man of university training in the Colony from the landing in 1620 till the arrival of the first settled minister, Ralph Smith, in 1629; nor was it till eight years later that there was any marked and permanent addition to this number.

The dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony is sufficiently shown by the well-known fact that it was fifty years from the landing before the first public school was established. And it is equally evident that the lack of schools (owing, of course, largely to the poverty of the people) quenched the desire for higher education. In the volume which Mr. Sibley has published, of biographies of the earliest graduates of Harvard College, coming down to 1658, only one native and two residents of Plymouth Colony are included. The native (Isaac Allerton, of the class of 1650) caught the college fever at New Haven, where his father, after long wanderings from Plymouth, had finally settled, and the two Chauncey boys (graduates of 1651), born in England, can only be called occasional residents of Scituate, from whose uncongenial soil they and their father escaped as soon as possible. In the same length of time, one only of the ninety-eight graduates of Harvard had settled within the Plymouth boundaries, — Thomas Crosby, of the class of 1653, who was preaching without formal ordination to the church in Eastham. At the same date, the summer of 1658, besides this solitary witness for Harvard, stationed on the further side of Cape Cod Bay, the only English university men left in the Colony, of some dozen and a half who had found a longer or shorter refuge there, were the three pastors, Nicholas Street, of Taunton, who was to migrate a few months later to New Haven, on account of inadequate support, Samuel Newman of Rehoboth, and William Wetherell of Scituate. In seven (Plymouth, Duxbury, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, Bridgewater) out of the

eleven towns in the Colony, the pastorate was vacant or not yet established; so that it happened that these four individuals were at once the entire clerical and the entire learned order among a population of perhaps as many thousand souls. Still further to show the low state of religion and learning, it may be added that the six towns in which the pastorate was now vacant waited on the average for ten years each before settling other ministers, and when this step *was* accomplished, such an experience as that at Marshfield, where an illiterate layman (Samuel Arnold) was ordained with no other sanction or ceremony than the laying on of hands of two illiterate lay brethren, was not uncommon. Or, take another indication of the intellectual life, in which Massachusetts Bay a little later showed such great activity. Up to this date of 1658, and even beyond it, the only publications, I believe, which originated within Plymouth Colony were those of Edward Winslow (including the Journal called "Mourt's Relation,") and two sermons by William Hooke. There was, too, some revision by Samuel Newman of his Concordance to the Bible, which had already been published before his coming hither.

John Robinson said with truth in his farewell letter to these Pilgrims: "You are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest"; and the slender means which they brought with them and the poverty of the soil which they cultivated conspired for their easy riddance of all their occasional visitors whose powers were at all suited for a wider field. Such men as John Norton, and Charles Chauncey, and William Hooke, and Roger Williams came and passed on to more promising surroundings in other Colonies; and, putting these aside, I doubt if there was a single educated man of anywise remarkable mental gifts — judging by the standard which the neighboring Colony of the Bay furnished in abundance — who settled there; unless the patient industry of Samuel Newman, the concordance-maker, entitles him to exception, with those who do not gibbet him with Dr. Johnson's definition of a lexicographer, as a "harmless drudge."

The glory of Plymouth Colony lies in the simple faith and courage of the Mayflower company, but we scan the history of her territory in vain to find a single man of comparative eminence in the State or national councils, or a single name that can be remembered in the literature of Massachusetts or the world. And it seems the simplest justice to emphasize the marked contrast between her experience and that of the Colony at the Bay, both founded on the same lines of high religious purpose and steady English common sense, as eminently suggestive of the force and guidance lent to the building of a State by the presence of a body of educated men. The want of the stimulus due to a learned class is as truly seen in the barrenness of the intellectual and political history of Plymouth as the value of such a stimulus is seen in the development of the next succeeding settlement in Massachusetts Bay.

In that settlement, William Blaxton, who graduated from Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1617, and may thus have been a pupil of Hooker or of Cotton, and who presumably emigrated in 1623 to the

south side of Massachusetts Bay, so becoming the pioneer of university men within the later limits of the Colony, needs but the barest mention, as his prompt withdrawal removed him from contact with the Colony history.

The story is a familiar one, how in 1629 the Massachusetts Company organized in London under its new charter, and sent over its first supply of colonists, 400 strong. Four ministers were provided; one of them, Francis Bright, from Oxford, but four years out of college, too good a Churchman to put up with the nonconformity of Puritans, and so returning by almost the first opportunity to England; a second, Ralph Smith, too rigid a separatist to enjoy the decent respect for former church ties which he found here, and so at once transferring himself to plainer Plymouth; and the other two, Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, from Cambridge, in the full maturity of their powers, and for the brief span of life that was left them (one dying in 1630, the other in 1635) centres of influence in the Salem community.

But Salem was quickly subordinated to the leadership of the greater company which came with Governor Winthrop and the charter in 1630, when the political life of the new Colony began in earnest. How rapid and fruitful was its growth we do not need to be told. My only object is to point out the working of the leaven which the English universities supplied.

We saw just now that it was nine years before the settlement at Plymouth secured a minister, who was also the first university graduate whom her soil entertained. Contrast with this the progress of Massachusetts Bay in the nine years from 1630. Within these years at least threescore university men came from the mother country, and (be it specially remembered) most of them persons of matured experience. Three-fourths of the whole number remained within this Colony of their first choice, scattered from Hingham on the Plymouth border to Dover on the north and to Springfield in the far-off west, through the score of towns, with perhaps 9,000 population, which made up the government of Massachusetts. The two centres of the thriving body were Boston and the newly named Cambridge, where the infant college was already in operation; and half these forty or fifty scholars of the old world were within five miles of the one or the other of these centres. It is not extravagant to say that such a concentration of scholarly men gave the community a tone which it never has lost: and that however subsequent generations on the same spot may have utilized their larger opportunities, the learned element in this first age enjoyed a predominance to which we are strangers.

In 1640, emigration to New England practically ceased, in the prospect of radical changes at home, and the tide actually began to flow backward; but the foundations had been secured, and the men who remained were strong enough to hold the results until, with the aid of the college at Cambridge, the supply of home-trained material began to be ready to take the place of the elders.

There can be no question that the Colony owed the early establishment and the vigorous support of Harvard College to the exertions

of those who were familiar with the Cambridge and Oxford of the mother country, or, if we need still further to limit the proposition, to the educated ministry of these towns. The ministry was not in Massachusetts, as in Plymouth, an ill-appreciated rarity. Up to the time when Harvard graduates were ready to take up the work, there had been some threescore ministers regularly inducted into Massachusetts pulpits; and certainly not more than half a dozen of the whole number were destitute of university training. The overpowering force of so uniform an example made a liberal education seem essential to the perpetuity of the decent order of the churches; and the result secured in its train the progress of New England and that of the nation. It is hazardous to transpose history; but I do not think it rash to say that a failure to plant and endow Harvard College for five and twenty years — that is, until the most of the generation of educated men who came over had passed away — would have so stunted and paralyzed the social progress of Massachusetts, as to have altered essentially the whole course of events bearing on national history in which Massachusetts has had a part.

As offshoots from Massachusetts, the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were established in 1636 and 1638, but not without serious remonstrance from the mother colony, which, during the few years that yet remained of English emigration, used her best endeavors to prevent any of the stream from being diverted to the new channels. This policy was in the main successful; but the spirit of regard for education was already strong enough in the leaders of both the new Colonies to insure the same kind of development as in Massachusetts, if under less favoring circumstances. The overshadowing influence of the luxuriant intellectual life at the Bay may seem to have interfered to some extent with the independent and symmetrical growth which Thomas Hooker and John Davenport planned for the societies which they planted. Davenport's plans, for instance, embraced, as we know, the common school, the grammar school, and the college; but, though he only accomplished the establishment of the first two, the third eventually followed, in direct if distant consequence of the influences he set in motion. And in the mean time, up to the date of the founding of the Collegiate School at Saybrook, one in every eight or nine of the graduates of Harvard came from the Colonies in Connecticut. John Davenport's own opportunities of university training had been of the briefest, his residence as an undergraduate being interrupted at the threshold, and his degree in divinity being given on examination after he had begun to preach; and, besides his two colleagues (Hooke and Street), and Abraham Pierson, of Southampton and Branford, there were no men of English university training connected for any great length of time with the New Haven Colony; but, as the late Professor Kingsley long ago remarked (Historical Discourse at New Haven, p. 41), with his usual perspicacity, "Neither the system of common schools, nor of those of a higher class, originated in any strong expression of public opinion, but was devised and carried forward by such men as John Davenport."

To such men it is owing that we can point to a schoolmaster employed in New Haven during the first year from its foundation, — a fact not paralleled in any other of the first settlements, and to the further fact that the ordinance of Dec. 25, 1641, "that a free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town," antedates any similar order found elsewhere, and contributes, it may be, a new idea to the world.

The leading university men in the other Connecticut settlements, at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, were a trio of graduates of Emanuel College, — Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Sherman, — with John Warham of Oxford. Sherman early transferred himself to New Haven; while the others remained as moulding forces of the Colony. Under them and their associates, the progress of Connecticut was so secure and so rapid that in little more than a generation she had twice the number of towns that the New Haven Colony had, with double the wealth, and more than double the acknowledged territory of that at first exceptionally rich and prosperous jurisdiction, and was enabled by the logical force of events, seconded by *finesse* on her own part to which New Haven would hardly have had recourse, to absorb her more uncompromising neighbor.

At Rhode Island and Providence Plantations there is little to detain us. The fact that Roger Williams was a Cambridge Bachelor of Arts may have been of inestimable importance to him in developing and moulding his own mental constitution, and so a large factor in working out the destinies of his plantation; but it went for nothing in the eyes of his neighbors, and failed in a manner of exercising its due influence on his own time and on later generations. Besides Williams, so far as appears, William Blaxton, dwelling apart in hermit-like seclusion, was the only other person in those districts who held any traditions of university life.

Through such channels as these New England traces a large part of what has been noble in her history back to ideas inherited from Cambridge and Oxford. If any one doubts, let him try to imagine, if he can, what the Providence settlement would have been *without* Roger Williams, or Connecticut without Thomas Hooker, or New Haven without John Davenport, or even Plymouth without Elder Brewster; let him try to construct the story of Massachusetts Bay, suppressing the presence and the influence, in person and through their posterity, of Winthrop and Saltonstall and Bradstreet; of Wilson and Cotton and Mather; of Eliot and Norton and Shepard; of Nathaniel Ward and Sir Harry Vane; of Harvard and Dunster and Chauncey; and the scores of other less conspicuous men, who were still most essential parts of the character and growth of town by town, the whole settlement over, as they might be enumerated. Blot out of the early New England annals the lives of these her educated leaders, and you have lost the clew to all that was to follow. There might still have been a New England, but how different in spirit and in

possibilities of power; and, if we may guess at her history, it would have to be written in the words of the Hebrew prophet, "That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten"; for what the Indian had failed to despatch with torch and tomahawk would have been the easy prey of New France on the north, and New Netherland on the west, while Old England was busy with her own civil wars; and what these had failed to divide would have fallen, like the elder colony of Virginia, into the hands of the rapacious and unprincipled courtiers of the Restoration, or would have been added to the conquests from Dutchmen and Frenchmen, as a subject province in which the traditions of liberty had already lost their meaning.

Or let the contrast be with the actual, and not with the possible: How *did* the development of New England compare with the contemporary progress of Virginia? Successful colonization there began in 1607; and we have a detailed census of the population in 1624, which gives the result of seventeen years' experience. The ships of the Virginia Company had brought over in this period some seven or eight thousand persons; but complaint had been loud among the resident authorities from the first that the bulk of the immigrants were either too idle or too incompetent to earn a living; and these volunteer colonists, whose misconduct had been so shameful as to require the strong hand of martial law to restrain them, with its penalties of incredible rigor, — which made it, for instance, death for one of them to pluck a flower in his neighbor's garden, or to kill even a single barnyard fowl belonging to himself (unless, indeed, the general in supreme command of the Colony had first given formal consent), — these precious volunteer colonists had been afterward reinforced by sundry shiploads of convicts, emptied out of overflowing English prisons, and of London street Arabs, "of whom," says the record, "the city was specially desirous to be disburdened"; and, crowning injustice of all, family life, at first discouraged, had been introduced with infamous method, by despatching authorized kidnappers to go up and down through quiet English villages and seize by force hapless maidens, who might be transported, and bought as wives by the highest bidders. The ordinary and extraordinary accidents of life, pestilence and famine, internal strife and Indian massacre, desertion to the red man's wigwam and to the mother country, had reduced the seven or eight thousand emigrants by 1624 to a beggarly total of 1,275 persons, of whom over 1,000 were males. But two considerable settlements had been planted in these seventeen years, — those at James City and Elizabeth City, — in which about a third of the entire population was gathered, the rest being scattered in smaller groups or on isolated plantations. In the whole Colony there were resident but four clergymen, not more than one of whom (Hant Wyatt, a brother of the Governor, and private chaplain to his family and retinue) was a university man; the only other representative of liberal education being the Colony physician, Dr. John Pott, a Bachelor of Arts at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1610.

Besides this census, all personal details in the period are conspicuously wanting; but it is certain that nothing deserving the name of intellectual or religious life had gained a foothold. There is, to be sure, in the proceedings of the earliest representative assembly of Virginia, in 1619, a reference to a project for a "college"; but let no one suppose this a forerunner of Harvard. It was not a college for English children, but an Indian school, proposed in deference to the purpose avowed in the charter by which Virginia was granted, "for the propagation of the Christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous"; and, moreover, it was only a project on paper, for which donations were received from England, but which never got into operation. That the college of William and Mary was chartered generations afterward, in 1693, was due to the enterprise of a single persistent Scotchman, James Blair, though not even his zeal could make the early period of its history a success.

As for civil liberty, a representative assembly had indeed been instituted; but its legislation was not valid until reviewed by the Company in London. Financially the Colony had not been prosperous; and the natural disappointment of the London stockholders at this result cast further blight on the progress of the venture; while the exigencies of home politics gave the king a speedy reason for revoking the Company's charter, and for governing Virginia himself.

The census quoted is in connection with the report of royal commissioners, sent over to inquire into the state of the Colony; and the substance of that report was that those of the emigrants who had escaped death by sickness, famine, or massacre, were living in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; that the country had yielded as yet few or no staples of food; and that nothing but stringent and peremptory measures would save the enterprise from destruction.

Such was the inglorious conclusion of seventeen years' colonization in Virginia. At a later time came a new emigration, which supplied new elements of power.

To Massachusetts Providence had denied the doubtful blessing of a luxuriant soil. In every other respect how did her first seventeen years eclipse the elder colony, in performance and in promise! Her numbers, with all the depletion caused by sending forth flourishing offshoots, must still have been at least a dozen times more than Virginia could boast. No scarcity of food, nor malarial scourge, nor bloody mutiny, nor Indian massacre, had decimated the northern as the southern settlement. The form of government was truly, not doubtfully, representative; no company of merchants or nobles beyond the seas exercised any right to impose laws or introduce governors and generals. The administration of justice was in the Colony's name. The oaths of allegiance for freemen and for sojourners recognized no sovereign outside the Colony borders. Massachusetts was her own mistress, and ruled her house well; nay more, she had consolidated the neighbor states into a confederacy, in which her own will was the leading spirit. The Virginia system of scattered plantations along the river-banks, with

here and there a fort and store, rejoicing in the title of a city, was replaced here by thirty vigorous townships, each an organized republic, composed in law of persons united for the purpose of establishing a church and a plantation, with an educated minister, who was in most cases the prime mover in all the greater interests of the community.

For more than half the brief life of the Colony the college at Cambridge had been in successful operation; and now, in this year of grace 1647, a system of common and grammar schools for every township was deliberately marked out, — a step of progress which New England learned from no precedent in the mother country, or in any older colony of English or of foreign planting. Close on the establishment of the college had followed the importation of a printing-press, which soon came to be college property, as part of the dowry of the first president's wife. It served for immediate and pressing uses (men could not do without fresh almanacs, and psalm-books, and copies of the laws); but the voluminous treatises which learned pastors of Massachusetts churches stood ready to print had long to be sent across the sea for perfection of typography.

It is needless to ask if these things were paralleled in Virginia at any such date. We cannot forget her bigoted governor's characteristic boast, a quarter of a century later, that "We have no free schools, nor any printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

But let me not be thought, in suggesting these contrasts, to lay an undue stress on the mere membership of a university, in the case of certain leaders, as comprehending all that was needed for the development of New England. The experiment of self-government might well have failed, if the leadership of Winthrop and Hooker and Davenport and their fellows had been weighted down by a motley crew of unthrifty, irresponsible vagrants. It was "government of the people, and for the people," but none the less needfully "by the people," and dependent on their common support and intelligent co-operation. I only claim that the guiding and directing force was supplied by an element which was itself moulded on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, under the influence and refinements of the best culture which the England of that day could give.

And, again, these comparisons of the southern and northern colonies are totally independent of the question, which had ultimately the greater number of picked settlers of *gentle* birth and breeding. It may be well to admit at once that New England enters into no such competition. The circumstance that only three out of all the Mayflower company can be traced to English homes is significant, if not typical; and those who have given most attention to New England family history are the most impressed with the hopelessness of the attempt — I mean in the great majority of cases — to trace the fathers of New England in their English origin, and especially to connect them with families of position or title on that side the Atlantic. The greater honor lies perhaps in just this descent from the humble stock of English common people of indistinguishable ancestry. It is enough to know that the primitive aristocracy of New England was an aristocracy of intellect consecrated

to duty, and not of blood; that her peerage and her knighthood were honors direct from the creative hand of God, and not from the touch of a monarch.*

Mr. SMITH, from the Committee on Memoirs, appointed at the last meeting, reported that, at their request, Mr. Deane had prepared a Memoir of the late Edward A. Crowninshield, Esq., which was now ready for publication, and that they had reason to believe all the memoirs not yet written would be furnished without unnecessary delay.†

The President stated that Miss Dorothea L. Dix, who had received a similar privilege formerly, desired to deposit with the Society a small package of papers. Miss Dix's deposit was received.

Colonel Thomas W. Higginson, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. CHARLES W. TUTTLE laid before the Society a copy of an ancient Indian deed of conveyance, and made the following remarks respecting it: —

Several years ago I was turning over the leaves of a venerable folio volume in the Registry of Deeds, at Exeter, when my eye accidentally fell upon the name Hope-Hood, or Hoope Whood as it was there written.‡ On examination, I found the name was in a deed, conveying land now in Strafford County, New Hampshire, executed by Hope-Hood and three other Indians, calling themselves native proprietors of those parts of New England.

Hubbard says that Hope-Hood, the first-named grantor in the deed, was son of Robin Hood, a noted Indian of an eastern Abnaki tribe. This Hope-Hood first appears in history a few months after the breaking out of King Philip's war, leading an attack on a house in Berwick, Maine.§ Mather styles him a "memorable tygre," and says he was accidentally killed in the summer of 1690.‖ Williamson says he was "One of the

* The accompanying tables give the details as to residence at Cambridge and Oxford, with the degrees taken; parentheses are used to show that a person was a member of the college named, but not long enough to receive a degree.

† The Memoir of Mr. Crowninshield will be found at the close of the record of this meeting, p. 356. — EDS.

‡ The name of this Indian, as usual, is variously spelled. I follow Hubbard, the historian. Hope-Hood was also known under the name Wayhamoo. Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., March, 1878, p. 105. Mather's *alias* for him is, Wohawa.

§ Hubbard's Indian Wars (Drake's ed.), vol. ii. pp. 99, 113.

‖ Magnalia, Book VII. p. 74. The only authority which supports Mather in regard to the accidental killing of Hope-Hood, may be found in "Public

| CAMBRIDGE. | 1580. | 1585. | 1590. | 1595. | 1600. | 1605. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CATHARINE HALL. | | | | John Phillips, B.A.<br>Robert Peck, B.A. | | |
| CHRIST'S. | | | | | | John Wilson, B.<br>Eze |
| CLARE HALL. | | | | | John Phillips, M.A. & B.D. | |
| CORPUS. | | | | | | Ezekiel Rogers, B.A. |
| EMANUEL. | | | | | Nathaniel Ward, B.A. & M.A. | Daniel Maude, B.<br>T |
| GONVILLE AND CAIUS. | | | | | | |
| JESUS. | | | | | | Francis Higginso |
| MAGDALEN. | | | | | Robert Peck, M.A. | |
| PEMBROKE. | | | | | | |
| PETERHOUSE. | (Wm Brewster.) | | | | | |
| QUEEN'S. | | | | | | (T. Hooker |
| ST. JOHN'S. | | | | | | (F. Higginson.)<br>Peter Bulkley, B.A., M |
| SIDNEY SUSSEX. | | | | | | |
| TRINITY. | | | | | R. Partridge, B.A. | John Cotton, B.A. & M.A.<br>P. Saxton, M.A.<br>(J. Winthrop.) |
| TRINITY HALL. | | | | | | |
| UNCERTAIN. | | | | | | |

| 1590. | 1595. | 1600. | 1605. | 1610. | 1615. | 1620. | 1625 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | John Phillips, B.A.<br>Robert Peck, B.A. | | | | | R. Denton, B.A. | |
| | | | John Wilson, B.A. & M.A.<br>Ezekiel Rogers, M.A. Ralph Smith, B.A. | | | | |
| | | John Phillips, M.A. & B.D. | | Samuel Skelton, B.A. & M.A. | | Ralph Wheelock, | |
| | | | Ezekiel Rogers, B.A. | | | Jonathan Burr, B.A. & M.<br>William Wetherell, B.A. & | |
| | | | | | William Blaxston, B.A. & M.A. (Edmund Br | | |
| | | | | John Cotton, B.D. & Fellow. | Zechariah Symmes, B.A. & M.A. (J. C | | |
| | | | Daniel Maude, B.A. & M.A. | | Samuel Whiting, B.A. & M.A. | William Leverich, | |
| | | Nathaniel Ward, B.A. & M.A. | | Thomas Hooker, B.A. & M.A. & Fellow. | Simon Bradstreet, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| | | | | | Thomas James, B.A. & M.A. | William Walton, B.A. & M.A | |
| | | | | | Nathaniel Rogers, B.A. & M.A. | John Ward, B | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Shepard, B.A. & M<br>Samuel Stone, B.A. & M.A. | |
| | | | | George Phillips, B.A. & M.A. | | John Miller,<br>Robert Fordham, B.A<br>Thoma | |
| | | | Francis Higginson, B.A. | | | John Eliot, B.A. | |
| | | Robert Peck, M.A. | | | | John Rayner, B.A.<br>Samuel Eaton, B.A. & M<br>John Knowles, B.A. & M.A<br>Peter Hobart, B.A | |
| | | | | | | C. Blackwood, B.A. | Rc |
| | | | | | | John Norton, B.A. & M. | |
| | | | (T. Hooker.) W. Knight, B.A. (?) | | | (G. Fenwick.) | |
| | | | (F. Higginson.) | F. Higginson, M.A. | | | |
| | | | Peter Bulkley, B.A., M.A., & Fellow. | (E. Huit.) | | | John Fiske, B |
| | | | | Timo Dalton, B.A. | | | |
| | | | | John Wheelwright, B.A. & M.A. | | George Moxon, B.A.<br>George Burdett, B.A. | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Thornton, B.A. & M.A. ( | |
| | | John Cotton, B.A. & M.A. | | Charles Chauncey, B.A., | | M.A., B.D., and Fellow | |
| | | R. Partridge, B.A. P. Saxton, M.A. | | Thomas Welde, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | (J. Winthrop.) | | Hugh Peters, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | | | | | Thomas Larkham, B.A. & M.A. | |
| | | | | | John Allin. (?) | | |

| 1610. | 1615. | 1620. | 1625. | 1630. | 1635. | 1640. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | R. Denton, B.A. | John Knowles, Fellow. (H. Knollys.) | | Nath[l] Norcross, B.A. | |
| M.A. Ralph Smith, B.A. | | | | | | |
| uel Skelton, B.A. & M.A. | | Ralph Wheelock, B.A. & M.A. | | | | |
| | | Jonathan Burr, B.A. & M.A. | | | | |
| | | William Wetherell, B.A. & M.A. | | Robert Child, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| | William Blaxston, B.A. & M.A. (Edmund Brown.) | | | | | |
| tton, B.D. & Fellow. | Zechariah Symmes, B.A. & M.A. (J. Oxenbridge.) (G. Firmin.) | | | | | |
| | Samuel Whiting, B.A. & M.A. | | William Leverich, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| er, B.A. & M.A. & Fellow. | Simon Bradstreet, B.A. & M.A. | | (R. Saltonstall.) | | | |
| | Thomas James, B.A. & M.A. | William Walton, B.A. & M.A. | | (John Sherman.) | | |
| | Nathaniel Rogers, B.A. & M.A. | John Ward, B.A. & M.A. | | T. Waterhouse, B.A. | | |
| | | Thomas Shepard, B.A. & M.A. | | John Harvard, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| | | Samuel Stone, B.A. & M.A. | | | | |
| | | | John Miller, B.A. | | | |
| George Phillips, B.A. & M.A. | | | Robert Fordham, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | | Thomas Allyn, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | John Eliot, B.A. | | | | |
| | | | John Rayner, B.A. | Henry Dunster, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| | | | Samuel Eaton, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | | John Knowles, B.A. & M.A. | | Richard Gibson, B.A. | |
| | | | Peter Hobart, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | C. Blackwood, B.A. | | Roger Williams, B.A. | | |
| | | John Norton, B.A. & M.A. | | | | |
| ht, B.A. (?) | | (G. Fenwick.) | | | | |
| Higginson, M.A. | | | | | Thomas Thornton, Preacher & Fellow. (?) | |
| v. (E. Huit.) | | | John Fiske, B.A. | Nicholas Baker, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| Tim[o] Dalton, B.A. | | | | Thomas Carter, B.A. & M.A. | | |
| | John Wheelwright, B.A. & M.A. | George Moxon, B.A. | | | | |
| | | George Burdett, B.A. | | | | |
| | | Thomas Thornton, B.A. & M.A. (?) | | | | |
| Charles Chauncey, B.A., M.A., B.D., and Fellow. | | | | | | |
| Thomas Welde, B.A. & M.A. | | | | | A. Pierson, B.A. | |
| | Hugh Peters, B.A. & M.A. | | | | | |
| | | Thomas Larkham, B.A. & M.A. | | | | |
| | John Allin. (?) | | | | | |

| OXFORD. | 1595 | 1600. | 1605. | 1610. | 1615. | 162 |
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| ALL SOULS. | | | | | | |
| BRASENOSE. | | | | | | (R. Mather. W. |
| CHRIST CHURCH. | | | | | A. Blakeman, B.A. | |
| EXETER. | John Maverick, B.A. & M.A. | | | | | |
| LINCOLN. | | | | | | |
| MAGDALEN. | | | | (S. Bachiler.) | (T. Parker.) | (S. |
| MAGDALEN HALL. | | | | | | |
| NEW. | | | | | | |
| NEW INN HALL. | | | | | | |
| PEMBROKE (OR BROADGATES HALL). | | | | | | |
| QUEEN'S. | | | | | (J. Avery.) | |
| ST. EDMUND'S HALL. | | | | | | Joseph Avery, B.A |
| ST. MARY HALL. | | | | | John Warham, B.A. & M.A. Jos. Hull, B.A. | |
| TRINITY. | | | | | | Wi |
| WADHAM. | | | | | | |
| UNCERTAIN. | | (E. Norris.) | | | (J. Davenport.) | |

| 1605. | 1610. | 1615. | 1620. | 1625. | 1630. | 1635. | 1640 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | M. Mathews, B.A. | | | |
| | | | (R. Mather.) W. Tompson, B.A. | | | | |
| | | A. Blakeman, B.A. | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | (E. Corlet.) | | | |
| | (S. Bachiler.) | (T. Parker.) | (S. Newman.) | | | (H. Green.) | |
| | | | | J. Davenport, B.D. (H. Vane.) J. Oxenbridge, B.A. & M.A. | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | F. Bright, B.A. | | R. Blinman, B.A. | |
| | | | | Nicholas Street, B.A. | | | |
| | | (J. Avery.) | | | | | |
| | | Joseph Avery, B.A. & M.A. | | | | | |
| | John Warham, B.A. & M.A. Jos. Hull, B.A. | | | | T. Cobbet, M.A. | | |
| | | | Wm. Hooke, B.A. & M.A. | | T. Cobbet, B.A. | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | (J. Davenport.) | | | | | |

| 1625. | 1630. | 1635. | 1640. | 1645. | 1650. | 1655. |
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| ıews, B.A. | | | | | | |
| A. | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| (E. Corlet.) | | | | | | |
| | | (H. Green.) | | | | |
| . Davenport, B.D. (H. Vane.)<br>J. Oxenbridge, B.A. & M.A. | | | | Saml. Lee, M.A. & Proctor.<br>(J. Allen.) | | |
| | | | | | James Allen, B.A., M.A., & Fellow. | |
| ight, B.A. | | R. Blinman, B.A. | | | | |
| eet, B.A. | | | | | | |
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| | T. Cobbet, M.A. | | | | | |
| A. & M.A. T. Cobbet, B.A. | | | | | | |
| | | | | | S. Lee, Fellow. | |
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most bloody warriors of the age." He and his followers were with the French at the destruction of Salmon Falls, and also of Casco, two months later, in the spring of 1690.*

Hope-Hood was one of the Indian chieftains who signed the treaty of peace made Sept. 8, 1685, between his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the Provinces of New Hampshire and Maine, and the Indians dwelling in the same Provinces. His name is also on each of the letters written May 15, 1685, by Kankamagus, *alias* John Hogkins, to Lieut.-Gov. Cranfield, imploring protection from the Mohawk Indians. His mark standing for his signature to the treaty and also to the letters is the same as on this deed. †

The names of his three Indian associates, grantors in the deed, are scarcely known. They appear, however, with his, on the letters to Cranfield.‡ The name Ould Robin suggests a family connection. May be, he is the veritable Robin Hood mentioned by Hubbard.

Peter Coffin, the grantee named in the deed, was one of the most considerable inhabitants of Dover, and afterward Chief Justice of the Province. However contemptible an Indian deed may have appeared at that time, in the eyes of Sir Edmund Andros, to the practical mind of Peter Coffin, a frontiersman, it was sufficient to give him the right and title to so much of the wilderness as was bounded and described therein. He was not a man to part with seven pounds, for a worthless title.

It is worthy of note that this Indian grant lay within the limits of Captain Mason's patent of 1629; and that his grandson, Robert Mason, was then contending in the Judicial Courts of New Hampshire, for possession of all the lands lying within the patent, not granted by himself or his ancestors. Coffin's motive for buying the Indian title at this time may have been to anticipate the issue of Mason's suits.

While Hope-Hood hovered much on the eastern frontier of New Hampshire, he has not been supposed by historians to have had any connection with that Province, except as a

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Occurrences," the first newspaper printed in Boston, dated Sept. 25, 1690. The circumstances of his death so much resemble those of the accidental killing of Kryn, the "Great Mohawk," about that time, as to make it somewhat doubtful whether Mather has not confounded these two Indians. N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix. pp. 473–479. There is no mention of the death of Hope-Hood in the French narratives of that time. Besides, a Hope-Hood from Norridgewock was present at the treaty with the English at Falmouth, in June, 1703.

* Williamson's History of Maine, vol. i. pp. 618–623.

† N. H. Provincial Papers, vol. i. pp. 583, 584, 588.

‡ Ibid. pp. 583, 584.

raider and an enemy, during the Indian wars.* There is, however, one place in Dover, on the western bank of the Bellamy River, near where it falls into the Pascataqua, which has borne the name "Hope-Hood's Point" for nearly two centuries — almost back to the date of this deed of conveyance.† This fact, and his act in conveying hereditary lands in this quarter to Coffin, indicate that his savage ancestors or his tribe had been possessors of that region.

The spelling in the following deed is modernized, except the names of persons and places.

To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come and appear: —

Know ye that the natives of New England or Indians whose names are known in the English tongue, are called by the name of Hoope Whood, and Samll Lines, and Ould Robbin, and Kinge Harry, now we, the before-named Indians and natives, as by our native right, are the proprietors of these parts of New England which do join and border upon the rivers called by the names of Newitchawanoke River, and Cochechow River, and Oyster River and Lamperill River, within the Province of New Hampshire. Now know all men that we, the said Hope Whood, Samll Lines, Ould Robbin, and King Harry, for and in consideration of the sum of seven pounds to us in hand paid by Mr. Peter Coffin of the town of Dover, in the Province of New Hampshire, the receipt whereof we acknowledge, and of every part and penny thereof, do free, acquit, and discharge the said Peter Coffin, his heirs, executors, and administrators. By these presents do give, grant, bargain, and sell and confirm unto the said Mr. Coffin and to his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns for ever, all our right and title which we, the said natives ever had, have, or ought to have, unto all the marshes, and pine timber standing or lying, that is or shall be within the two branches of Cochecho and half way between northernmost branch of Cochechow River and Newchewanoke River, beginning at the run of water on the north side of Squammagonake old planting ground (and between the two branches) to begin at the spring where the old cellar was, and so to run ten miles up into the country between the branches by the rivers, all which said marshes, lands, and timber as is before mentioned, and expressed in the bounds aforesaid, shall be to the sole and proper use, benefit, and behoof of Mr. Peter Coffin, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns for ever, to have and to hold the premises aforesaid and all privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and to every part and parcel thereof, and also we do warrant to make good, and maintain the before bargained

* I have shown (Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., June, 1879, pp. 105–111) that the attack on Fox Point, in 1690, which Mather charges that Hope-Hood led, never occurred.

† Historical Genealogical Register, 1866, p. 373. Ibid. 1874, p. 203. Ibid. 1880, p. 205.

and sold premises against all and all manner of natives or Indians which shall lay any claim or right or title to the same. In witness whereof we, the said HoopeWhood, Samll Lines, Ould Robbin, and Kinge Harry, do bind ourselves and every of us jointly and severally, and our heirs and successors firmly by these presents. Dated the third day of January, in the second year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James the Second, over England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Annoq. domini, 1686.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Signed, sealed, and | The mark × of | HOOPE WHOOD, | [and seal.] |
| delivered in presence | ᑐᑐ | SAMLL LINES, | [and seal.] |
| of Benjamin Herd, | ᖘ | OULD ROBBIN, | [and seal.] |
| Test. John Evens. | ○ | KINGE HARRY, | [and seal.] |

Benjamin Herd personally appeared this seventh day of January, 1709–10, and made oath that he was present and saw these several sachems or Indians sign and seal the above written instrument and set to his hand as witness, and that Jno Evins also set to his hand as witness at the same time. Before me, Nathll Weare, Justice Peace.

Entered and recorded according to original, 18 January, 1709.

WM. VAUGHAN, Recorder.*

The Memoir of Mr. Crowninshield, by Mr. Deane, here follows: —

* Provincial Deeds at Exeter, vol. vii. fols. 366, 367. The tract of land conveyed by these Indians lay just outside the northern limits of Dover. It is now within the limits of Rochester, Barrington, Strafford, and Farmington.

# MEMOIR

OF

# EDWARD AUGUSTUS CROWNINSHIELD, A.M.

BY CHARLES DEANE.

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EDWARD AUGUSTUS CROWNINSHIELD, the fourth son of the Hon. Benjamin W. and Mary (Boardman) Crowninshield, was born in Salem, Mass., 25 February, 1817. He was fitted for college at the Round Hill School in Northampton, Mass., under the charge of Joseph G. Cogswell and George Bancroft, and graduated at Harvard in 1836. After leaving college he went through a course of legal studies in the office of Franklin Dexter and William H. Gardiner of Boston, but, being pecuniarily in easy circumstances, never practised.

In the autumn of the year 1850, Mr. Crowninshield had become somewhat apprehensive in regard to his health, though it proved to be only nervous weakness, or something akin to that, and Dr. Jackson advised a change of scene. With three gentlemen, himself the youngest of the party, he went to Europe and was gone eight months, travelling as far south as Naples. During his absence his father died (3 Feb., 1851). In October, 1856, with his wife and second son, he again sailed for Europe, with the hope that the voyage would be the means of restoring his health, which for some time had been in a delicate state. The ensuing winter was passed in Pau, in the south of France. The next summer was spent in Switzerland, principally at Lausanne, and during the following November the family went to Madeira, where they remained till the next spring. In July, 1858, they came home, Mr. Crowninshield having experienced no permanent relief. He died on the 20th of February, 1859, aged 41 years 11 months.

One who knew Mr. Crowninshield intimately thus wrote of him soon after his decease: — *

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* The late George S. Hillard.

"The recent death of Mr. Crowninshield has not been widely felt on account of his retired life, — a life which for many years past his delicate health has made a matter of imperative duty; but there are many who will mourn his departure and cherish his memory with affection and regard. He was a man of very prepossessing manners and appearance, always preserving, even during the many years in which he was an invalid and a sufferer, his blooming look and ready smile, and betraying the ravages of disease only by his languid movements and changed voice. Born to a competent estate, early and most happily married, of an enjoyable temperament, and not moved by the stings of uneasy ambition, he seemed likely to join that company of well-looking, well-dressed, and well-mannered gentlemen, who go through life without reproach, and who, if they are praised at all, must be praised negatively. But Mr. Crowninshield had a love of literature and a love of books which supplied him with object and purpose, gave individuality to his character and dignity to his life, and protected him from the temptations which assail men who are rich and idle. Early in life he began the formation of a library; and this worthy pursuit he followed as long as his health allowed him. In his acquisitions he was guided by knowledge, sagacity, and, above all, exquisite taste. He wanted the best editions of the best books, and not only that, but that they should be bound in the nicest and most appropriate manner. His library was not very extensive, but it was very choice, and contained some of the most beautiful and desirable books we have ever seen, books such as it was difficult to look at without breaking the tenth commandment. Mr. Crowninshield read the books which he bought, and he read them with discriminating enjoyment. He could not be called a learned man, but had a right to the title of an accomplished man. In bibliography, as might have been expected, his knowledge was various and exact. His mind, his manners, his speech, exhaled the fine perfume of scholarship and cultivation. There was a gentleness, a refinement, a grace diffused around his presence and bearing which made it a pleasure to meet him. However low the tone of his system might have been brought by ill health, there was never a moment when he did not respond to the touch of his ruling passion. If you spoke of books his manner would become animated, and his countenance would brighten with his accustomed and engaging smile.

"Mr. Crowninshield's whole life was regulated by good sense, good taste, and good feeling. He was in all respects

a gentleman, in spirit as well as in form. He secured the esteem, the confidence, the affection, of all who stood toward him in relations close enough to reveal to them how solid were his titles to such tributes. The only public trust he ever assumed was that of Trustee of the Boston Athenæum, and this he discharged with exemplary fidelity.

"'Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.'"

To this admirable personal description I can add nothing save my own testimony to the truthfulness of the delineation.

Mr. Crowninshield's library, here enthusiastically described, was particularly rich in works on early American history and biography, a few of which will be here mentioned. He had a perfect copy of the Bay Psalm Book, 1640, which he received from the Prince Library in exchange for other books; also a copy of the original edition of Cushman's "Sermon," 1622; Mourt's "Relation," 1622; Morton's "Memorial," 1669; Smith's "Description of New England," 1616; his "Generall Historie," 1627, and "True Travells," 1630; Winslow's "Hypocrisie Unmasked," 1646; his "New-Englands Salamander Discovered," 1647; Wood's "New Englands Prospect," 1634; Whitbourne's "Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," 1623; Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth," 1659; Lechford's "Plain Dealing," 1642; Higgeson's "New-Englands Plantation," 1630; Gorges's "America Painted to the Life," 1659; Hubbard's "Present State of New-England," with map, 1677; and some of the rare books of the Mather family. His library also contained Eden's "Decades," &c., 1555; the rare Hakluyt of 1582; also that of 1589, and the later edition of 1599–1600; and an elegant "Purchas," 1625–6. Other rarities, such as the Nuremberg "Chronicle," 1493; Coriat's "Crudities," 1611, and the first editions of Shakespeare's and of Milton's poems, may be mentioned, not forgetting the later works of the luxurious Dibdin. Among the manuscripts in his library was Samuel Gorton's "Answer to remarks on him in Morton's Memorial," published in Force's Tracts from a copy furnished by Mr. Crowninshield.*

* After Mr. Crowninshield's death a catalogue of his books and manuscripts was made and printed, with a view to a public sale, but the entire collection was sold privately to Mr. Henry Stevens of London, and the greater part of the books, particularly the rarest of them, was transported thither. Some of them found their way back to this country. The Hakluyt of 1582, Cushman's Sermon, and a number of others, are in the library of the writer. The Bay Psalm Book was purchased by the late George Brinley of Hartford; and at the recent sale of a portion of his library in New York it was resold for $1200.

In a Memoir of George Livermore, in the Society's Proceedings for January, 1869, mention is made of Mr. Crowninshield, and also of the late Dr. Alexander Young, as among Mr. Livermore's most intimate friends. Each a lover of books and of bibliography, they were accustomed to meet almost daily at the bookstore of Little & Brown, where they compared notes and conversed upon these never-failing themes.

Mr. Crowninshield married, 15 January, 1840, Caroline Maria Welsh, daughter of Francis Welsh, Esq., of Boston. He left three children, all sons, of whom the youngest, Frederic, only survives. He is an artist of great promise, and one of the teachers of the School of Drawing and Painting attached to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The oldest son, Edward A., died at Milton, Mass., 3 July, 1867, aged 26. The second son, Francis W., died at Albano, near Rome, 21 May, 1866, aged 23, the result of the hardships endured at the South, in Sherman's march and elsewhere. He had the rank of major when he left the army at the end of the war.

Mr. Crowninshield was elected a member of this Society 11 November, 1858.*

* Although Mr. Crowninshield's illness was a lingering one, yet his death was sudden at last. In a letter addressed to me by Mr. Livermore on the day following Mr. Crowninshield's decease, he says: "Poor Crowninshield is gone! He was as well as usual yesterday afternoon; but in the evening, whilst coughing, he was seized with a severe hemorrhage of the lungs, fainted, and passed away. We little thought whilst we were speaking of him on Friday as one of the Standing Committee for next year, that before we met again he would be numbered with the dead. I loved him deeply, and I cannot but mourn his loss, though I feel that a merciful Providence has saved him from much suffering by thus suddenly and gently relieving him from his pains."